

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2175

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

USINT BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 5811

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, ET, SO, YO

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS AND MEDIA ON SITUATION IN THE HORN

SUMMARY: WHILE CONTINUING ITS OUTSPOKEN SUPPORT FOR ETHIOPIA'S "SOCIALIST REVOLUTION", GOY HAS OF LATE BETRAYED SIGNS OF INCREASING FRUSTRATION WITH ADAMANCY OF DIRGUE'S OPPOSITION TO OFFERING ERITREANS "AUTONOMOUS-FEDERAL" STATUS, APPREHENSION OVER THREAT THAT WORSENING OF ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI CONFLICT POSES TO UNITY OF OAU AND THE NON-ALIGNED AND CONCERN THAT DISPUTES IN THE HORN MAY DEVELOP INTO "CRISIS OF BROADER INTERNATIONAL PROPORTIONS". YUGOSLAVS' FIRM SUPPORT FOR ADDIS IN ITS CURRENT CONFLICT WITH SOMALIA IS EVIDENT IN MEDIA'S HEAVY RELIANCE ON OFFICIAL ETHIOPIAN SOURCES, FAIRLY POINTED EDITORIAL COMMENT AND PRIVATE REMARKS OF GOY OFFICIALS.

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"PROBLEM OF OGADEN," HOWEVER, HAS ALSO BEEN REFERRED TO IN CONTEXT OF "NATIONALITY QUESTIONS" WITH WHICH EPMG SEEMS UNABLE TO COME TO GRIPS AND ON WHICH IT IS UNWILLING TO HEED OTHERS' ADVICE. CULPABILITY OF MAJOR POWERS AND OTHER "OUTSIDE FORCES" (READ ARAB SUPPORTERS OF ERITREAN SECESSION) IN VIEW OF THEIR INCREASING "DIRECT AND INDIRECT" INVOLVEMENT IN HORN

DISPUTES HAS BEEN STANDARD THEME OF MUCH PRESS AND PRIVATE YUGOSLAV COMMENTARY. BUT FOREGOING NOTWITHSTANDING, GOY OFFICIALS, INCLUDING FONSEC MINIC, HAVE SUGGESTED TO US RECENTLY THAT ETHIOPIANS WOULD NOW BE RECEPTIVE TO U.S. INITIATIVE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS. YUGOSLAVS' GRATUITIOUS ADVICE APPEARS IN PART PROMPTED BY HEAT GOY RECEIVING FROM ETHIOPIANS FOR ADDITIONAL YUGOSLAV SHIPMENTS OF ARMS, INCLUDING "OBSOLETE" US-SUPPLIED ITEMS. END SUMMARY.

1. SINCE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES IN OGADEN, ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI CONFLICT HAS DRAWN EXTENSIVE MEDIA COVERAGE, INCLUDING LONG PERIODS AS DAILY, FRONT PAGE, HEADLINED NEWS IN MAJOR YUGOSLAV PAPERS. WHILE THERE HAVE PROBE BASES OF CONFLICT IN SOMEWHAT MORE DEPTH (IF ONLY marginally GREATER OBJECTIVITY), DAY-TO-DAY PRESS PLAY HAS BEEN LIMITED LARGELY TO PRESENTATION OF OFFICIAL ETHIOPIAN ACCOUNT OF EVENTS, ONLY INTERMITTENTLY "BALANCED" BY INCLUSION OF SOMALI VERSION. THOUGH PARTICIPATION OF SOMALI REGULARS IN FIGHTING IN OGADEN AND NEIGHBORING ETHIOPIAN PROVINCES HAS BEEN REPORTED AS UNQUESTIONED FACT WITH OBVIOUS CRITICAL IMPLICATIONS, YUGOSLAVS HAVE AVOIDED DIRECT EDITORIAL CONDEMNATION OF MOGADISCIO. MAJOR POWERS AND OTHER "OUTSIDE FORCES," HOWEVER, HAVE BEEN CRITICIZED REPEATEDLY. UBIQUITOUS NATURE OF SUPER POWERS' RIVALRY, THEIR OVER-ARMING OF  
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BOTH DISPUTANTS AND ALLEGED EXPEDIENT EXCHANGE OF ALLEGIANCES WHEN TACTICAL INTERESTS DICTATED HAVE ALL BEEN CITED BY YUGOSLAVS IN PORTRAYING ONE OF ROOT CAUSES OF ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI CONFLICT AS MAJOR POWER GAMESMANSHIP. WHILE SUCH GENERAL CRITICISM IMPLICITLY ENCOMPASSES SOVIET ACTIONS, AND TYPES OF SOVIET WEAPONS EMPLOYED BY SOMALIS HAVE BEEN REPEATEDLY MENTIONED, ALLEGED WESTERN INVOLVEMENT (PARTICULARLY U.S.) HAS PREDICTABLY RECEIVED GREATER ATTENTION. DISTINCT IMPRESSION HAS BEEN CONVEYED IN PRESS, FOR INSTANCE, THAT SINCE U.S. NO LONGER IN POSITION TO ARM AND MANIPULATE ETHIOPIANS WE HAVE SWITCHED SIDES AND ALREADY BEGUN ARMING SOMALIS. (NEEDLESS TO SAY, YUGOSLAVS HAVE NEGLECTED TO REPORT RECENT U.S. STATEMENT OF RESTRAINT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT EVEN "IN PRINCIPLE" TO SUPPLY WEAPONS TO SOMALIA.) ILLUSTRATIVE OF MORE STRAINED ALLEGATIONS WHICH HAVE APPEARED WAS ONE ARTICLE'S ASSERTION OF SIGNIFICANT U.S. COMMERCIAL INTEREST IN SOMALIS' CAPTURING AT LEAST PART OF OGADEN SINCE THIS WOULD FACILITATE CERTAIN U.S. FIRMS' RENEWED EXPLOITATION OF OIL FROM AREA OF OGADEN IN WHICH FIGHTING FORCED PRODUCTION HALT SOME YEARS AGO.

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2. THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL NOTEWORTHY EXCEPTIONS,  
HOWEVER, TO TYPE OF REPORTAGE DESCRIBED ABOVE,  
ARTICLES FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON ERITREAN PROBLEM BUT  
ALSO TOUCHING ON ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI CONFLICT. DEPUTY  
FONSEC MOJSOV TOLD DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER THAT  
TWO OF THESE ARTICLES WERE BASED ON "SPECIAL" FSFA  
BRIEFING AND A THIRD MAKES REPEATED, EXPLICIT REFERENCE  
TO FSFA "SOURCES". ARTICLES EMPHASIZED FOLLOWING POINTS:  
--COURSE OF ETHIOPIAN "REVOLUTION" IS INCREASINGLY  
THREATENED NOT ONLY BY CONTINUED FESTERING OF INHERITED  
SOCIAL, ETHNIC AND DEVELOPMENTAL PROBLEMS, BUT BY  
"OBVIOUSLY INTRANSIGENT" POSITIONS OF BOTH ADDIS AND  
ERITREAN "SEPARATIST" MOVEMENTS, "SHARPENING OF ETHIOPIA'S  
RELATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF ARAB STATES ASSISTING ERITREAN  
SECESSIONISTS", "ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA  
...AND THE DIRECT OR INDIRECT INTERFERENCE OF THE GREAT  
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POWERS IN THESE DISPUTES";

--CONFLICTS IN THE HORN "MAY DEVELOP INTO A CRISIS OF  
BROADER INTERNATIONAL PROPORTIONS"; "TREND OF DEVELOPMENTS  
COULD EFFECT THE UNITY OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, NOT  
ONLY OF THOSE IN THIS REGION, BUT IN THE MOVEMENT IN GENERAL";  
--"ADDIS HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY MAKING MISTAKES BY  
IGNORING THE CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCES WHICH EXIST  
BETWEEN ERITREA AND THE OTHER PROVINCES"; ARMED CONFLICT  
OVER ERITREA "TESTIFIES TO THE FACT THAT THE ETHIOPIAN  
REVOLUTION HAS NOT YET FOUND THE WAY FOR A PEACEFUL,  
POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION..(NOR HAS)  
"REVOLUTION YET FOUND WAY FOR PEACEFUL, POLITICAL  
SOLUTION OF PROBLEM OF OGADEN, AND THIS HAS BROUGHT  
ABOUT CONFLICT (WITH) ARMED FORCES OF SOMALIA"; BUT  
SOMALIS CHOSE "VERY MOMENT" OF ETHIOPIA'S PREOCCUPATION  
WITH DOMESTIC TROUBLES TO ATTEMPT "TO REALIZE ITS HISTORIC  
MISSION"; "CHANGES OF FRONTIERS BY FORCE AND WAR ARE  
EXTREMELY DANGEROUS TO THE FUTURE OF PEOPLES OF AFRICA"  
AND VIOLATE PRINCIPLES OF OAU CHARTER;  
--GOY VIEWS HAVE BEEN CLEARLY SPELLED OUT TO VARIOUS  
REPRESENTATIVES OF EPMG SINCE 1975, BY PRESIDENT TITO AMONG  
OTHERS; GOY CONTINUES TO COUNSEL NEED FOR GRANT OF AUTONOMOUS-  
FEDERAL STATUS TO ERITREA (INCLUDING "RESTORATION OF  
RIGHTS UNJUSTLY TAKEN AWAY BY IMPERIAL REGIME") AS ONLY  
"REALISTIC POSSIBILITY"; GOY ALSO SUPPORTS "POLITICAL"  
RESOLUTION OF "PROBLEM OF OGADEN";  
--"YUGOSLAVIA HAS EXTENDED RESOLUTE POLICIAL AND  
DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT AND CONSIDERABLE MATERIAL, ECONOMIC  
AND OTHER ASSISTANCE TO EPMG AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO."

3. AMBASSADOR LEARNED FROM EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR GHALEB THAT  
YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS HAVE OF LATE BETRAYED TO LATTER THEIR  
VERY REAL CONCERN WITH MENGISTU ET AL. IN VIEW OF FACT  
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THEY ARE MILITARY MEN WITH "NO POLITICAL SENSE", THEY  
HAVE FAILED TO HEED GOY'S REPEATED ADVICE ON ERITREA DN HAVE  
BEEN INCREASING THEIR TIES WITH THE SOVIETS. (EGYPTIAN CLAIMS  
HE ASKED THESE YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS HOW THEY COULD EXPECT  
POLITICALLY ILLITERATE ETHIOPIAN LEADERSHIP EVEN TO GRASP  
CONCEPT OF FEDERALISM LET ALONG IMPLEMENT IT.) ALSO OF  
POSSIBLE INTEREST ARE GHALEB'S COMMENTS THAT:  
--IN LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS YUGOSLAVS HAVE ASKED "ARAB  
STATES" TO HELP PUSH "FEDERALISM" WITH ETHIOPIANS; GHALEB  
BELIEVED NONE (AND CERTAINLY NOT EGYPTIANS) HAD DONE SO SINCE  
THEY REALIZE IT IS "TOO LATE";  
--YUGOSLAVS HAVE HAD LONG PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA, INCLUDING  
"IN ITS INTELLIGENCE SERVICES"; (REMARK MADE IN CONTEXT  
OF IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHED TO HISTORICAL STRENGTH OF GOY-

ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS IN CONTRAST TO GOY-SOMALI TIES,  
WHICH GHALEB FEELS REMAIN MARGINAL DESPITE APPARENT SOMALI-  
U.S.S.R. FALLING OUT. WE WOULD NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT MONTHS  
PRECEDING OUTBREAK OF ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI HOSTILITIES SAW  
SERIES OF FAIRLY HIGH LEVEL SOMALI DELEGATION VISITS  
HERE, INCLUDING THAT OF SAID BARRE'S "SPECIAL ENVOY" MOHAMED  
DUNKE IN EARLY JUNE.)

--YUGOSLAV-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS WILL REMAIN CLOSE, OWING LESS  
TO HISTORICAL WARMTH OF TIES THAN TO YUGOSLAV FEAR OF WHAT  
FORCIBLE BREAKING UP OF ETHIOPIA WOULD PORTEND NOT ONLY  
FOR OTHER AFRICAN STATES BUT FOR OAU AND NON-ALIGNED  
MOVEMENT AS WELL (GIVEN SHEER PERCENTAGE OF MOVEMENT'S  
MEMBERSHIP THAT IS AFRICAN).

4. RECENT VISITS OF DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND  
SENATOR MCGOVERN HAVE PROVIDED US WITH FOLLOWING STATEMENTS  
OF GOY VIEWS ON SITUATION IN THE HORN:

--FONSEC MINIC TOLD SENATOR MCGOVERN THAT EITHIOPIANS WERE  
AT FAULT FOR LETTING ERITREAN PROBLEM DEVELOP TO THE POINT  
IT HAS; REGARDING HORN CONFLICTS IN GENERAL, MINIC FEARED  
THERE "WILL BE WARS ALL OVER THE WORLD, AND ESPECIALLY  
IN AFRICA, IF ONE SIDE TRIES TO SOLVE MINORITY AND TERRITORIAL  
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PROBLEMS IN THIS MANNER" (MINIC MADE CLEAR YUGOSLAVIA'S OWN  
SITUATION MAKES IT VERY ALLERGIC TO SETTLING OF NATIONALITY  
DISPUTES OR CHANGING OF BORDERS THROUGH RESORT TO ARMS);

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2177

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

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--SPEAKING WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, DEPUTY FONSEC  
MOJSOV CHARACTERIZED MENGISTU REGIME'S POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION  
IN TERMS SIMILAR TO THOSE OF EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR GHALEB  
(ABOVE) BUT ADDED THAT IT MATTERS LESS WHO IS IN CONTROL  
IN ADDIS THAN THAT WHOEVER IT IS COULD NEVER VOLUNTARILY  
SURRENDER EITHIOPIAN TERRITORY;

--PRIME MINISTER DJURANOVIC TOLD SENATOR MCGOVERN THAT  
"WE FROM NON-ALIGNED WOULD THINK U.S. AND U.S.R. ARE  
RESPONSIBLE FOR SITUATION AS IT IS IN AFRICA; YOU SHOULD TRY  
TO CREATE A SITUATION WHEREBY AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE LEFT  
ALONE TO SETTLE THEIR PROBLEMS"; DJURANOVIC ALSO SAID RECENT  
(APRIL) TRIP TO SUDAN AND ETHIOPIA BY TITO "SPECIAL EMISSARY"  
MOJSOV HAD NOT BEEN "A GREAT HELP"; ALSO TO SENATOR MCGOVERN,  
MINIC SAID "MOST DANGEROUS ASPECT OF SUCH PROBLEMS IS USUALLY  
THAT U.S. AND U.S.R. GET INVOLVED" AND SPOKE OF ETHIOPIAN-  
SOMALI CONFLICT AS EXEMPLARY OF REGIONAL DISPUTES INEVITABLY  
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RESULTING FROM U.S.-SOVIET RIVALRY AND ARMS BUILDUP.

5. IN REMARK OF POSSIBLE POLICY SIGNIFICANCE FOR USG,  
FSFA NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIR STARCEVIC TOLD POLCOUNS THAT  
ETHIOPIANS STILL WANT MORE ARMS AND ASKED "WHY DON'T THEY  
JUST GO DIRECTLY TO YOU?" POLCOUNS CAUTIONED STRONGLY  
AGAINST ANY CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN TO YUGOSLAV SHIPMENTS  
TO ETHIOPIA OF "OBSOLETE" U.S.- SUPPLIED MILITARY EQUIPMENT  
REMAINING IN THIS COUNTRY, TO WHICH STARCEVIC RESPONDED ONLY  
THAT U.S. HAS "REAL CHANCE" NOW IN ETHIOPIA; "YOU SHOULD GET  
TOGETHER WITH THEM" LATTER COMMENT WAS SIMILAR TO RECENT  
REMARK BY MINIC TO AMBASSADOR THAT WHILE U.S. MAY ALREADY  
HAVE TRIED MAKING SOME "GESTURES" TO ETHIOPIA, "GESTURES MIGHT  
BE RECEIVED DIFFERENTLY TODAY" IN VIEW DIFFICULT SITUATION IN  
WHICH ETHIOPIANS FIND THEMSELVES.

6. THAT ETHIOPIANS ARE IN FACT BADGERING GOY FOR MORE ARMS  
SHIPMENTS IS ALSO CLEAR FROM PRESS REPORTS OF EPMG DELEGATION  
CURRENTLY VISITING HERE. IT IS HEADED BY A MAJ. ENBALE  
TESHEMA (TANJUG SPELLING) AND HAS MET WITH YUGO PRESIDENCY  
MEMBER PETAR STAMBOLIC, FSFA ASSTSEC MIRKO OSTOJIC AND  
COLONEL-GENERAL JANKO SUSNJAR (DEFENSE MINISTRY, SUPPLY AND

PROCUREMENT). ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION REPORTEDLY CONVEYED TO YUGOSLAVS "ORAL" MESSAGE FROM MENGISTU TO PRESIDENT TITO.

7. COMMENT: FEAR OF EFFECTS REGIONAL CONFLICTS BETWEEN NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS MAY HAVE ON THE MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE COMBINED WITH NEED AS NON-ALIGNED LEADER TO MAINTAIN AT LEAST SEMBLANCE OF NEUTRALITY HAS LONG MOTIVATED BASIC GOY APPROACH TO SUCH DISPUTES, I.E., OFFICIAL IMPARTIALITY TO EXTENT POSSIBLE AND MEDIATION WHEREVER FEASIBLE. BUT MORE OFTEN THAN NOT GOY HAS PRIVATELY SUPPORTED PARTY WITH WHOM FOR IDEOLOGICAL OR ECONOMIC REASONS IT HAS STRONGEST BILATERAL TIES. DISPUTES IN SECRET

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THE HORN ARE OBVIOUSLY STRAINING EVEN YUGOSLAVIA'S RESOURCEFULNESS.

8. WE WOULD TAKE MINIC'S AND STARCEVIC'S SUGGESTIONS THAT TIME IS RIPE FOR U.S. "GESTURE" TO EPMG AS MORE THAN SIMPLY THEIR DISINTERESTED ANALYSIS OF SITUATION --THOUGH THEY PROBABLY ARE SINCERE IN EXPRESSING VIEW EPMG WOULD BE MORE RECEPTIVE TO US NOW THAN IN PAST. GOY IS UNDOUBTEDLY APPREHENSIVE OVER DETERIORATION OF EVENTS IN THE HORN, SOVIETS INCREASING INFLUENCE IN ADDIS AND POSSIBILITY YUGOSLAVIA MAY HAVE PICKED A LOSER. IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THEY MAY WANT SOME COMPANY AND HOPE IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-EPMG RELATIONS MIGHT HELP SAVE THAT REGIME. EAGLEBURGER

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## Message Attributes

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